

Message Text

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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

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EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS

TAGS: PFOR, UN, PR

SUBJECT: ACTION MEMORANDUM - FOLLOWUP ON PUERTO RICO IN THE
- COMMITTEE OF 24: MAKING OUR THREATS GOOD
(S/S NO. 7516884)
REF: STATE 198365

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM BUFFUM

1. AS YOU KNOW, THROUGH INTENSIVE LOBBYING WE ACHIEVED
SATISFACTORY OUTCOME IN COMMITTEE OF 24 CONSIDERATION OF
PUERTO RICO WHEN COMMITTEE DECIDED AUGUST 20 TO DEFER
FURTHER CONSIDERATION OF ITEM UNTIL 1976. VOTING WAS 11 IN
FAVOR, 9 OPPOSED, 2 ABSTENTIONS, 1 NON-PARTICIPATING, AND 1
ABSENT, BROKEN DOWN AS FOLLOWS:
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- IN FAVOR OF AUSTRALIAN MOTION TO POSTPONE CONSIDERA-
TION UNTIL 1976: AFGHANISTAN, AUSTRALIA, CHILE, DENMARK,
FIJI, INDIA, INDONESIA, IRAN, IVORY COAST, SIERRA LEONE,
TUNISIA.

- OPPOSED WERE: BULGARIA, CONGO, CUBA, CZECHOSLOVAKIA,
IRAQ, MALI, SYRIA, SOVIET UNION, TANZANIA.

ABSTAINING: TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO, YUGOSLAVIA.

NON-PARTICIPATION BY CHINA WAS PROBABLY THE MOST
SURPRISING AND GRATIFYING VOTE OF ALL.

ETHIOPIA WAS CONVENIENTLY ABSENT.

2. WHILE THIS WAS A "PROCEDURAL" DECISION, AGAINST THE
BACKGROUND OF OUR APPROACHES IN CAPITALS AND THE SITUATION
IN THE COMMITTEE, THOSE VOTING AGAINST POSTPONEMENT CAN
ONLY REASONABLY BE CONSIDERED AS GIVING CUBA FULL SUPPORT
AND AS BEING READY TO VOTE IN FAVOR OF CUBAN RESOLUTION.
THUS, EVEN THOUGH NO SUBSTANTIVE RESOLUTION WAS VOTED,
IN VIEW OF THE LEVEL AND VIGOR OF OUR DEMARCHES, MOYNIHAN
AND I CONSIDER IT IS NECESSARY FOR SAKE OF US CREDIBILITY
TO TREAT THE OUTCOME AS PRACTICALLY EQUIVALENT TO VOTING
ON OBJECTIONALBE RESOLUTION AND TO TAKE SOME FORM OF
RETALIATORY ACTION, AS YOU APPROVED OUR THREATENING TO DO.

3. WE NOW FACE DIFFICULT QUESTION OF EXACTLY HOW US
SHOULD RESPOND TO HOSTILE POSITIONS OF COMMITTEE MEMBERS
TO GET MESSAGE ACROSS THAT WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY WHEN WE
TELL THEM BILATERAL RELATIONS WILL BE AFFECTED.

4. IN DOING SO, WE HAVE SOUGHT A SOLUTION WHICH DOES
LEAST DAMAGE TO OUR TOTAL INTERESTS AND OFFERS SMALLEST
TARGET FOR COUNTER-RETALIATION. WE ALSO MAKE A
DISTINCTION BETWEEN OUR REACTION AGAINST GREAT POWERS
(USSR) AND SMALLER COUNTRIES, FOR OBVIOUS REASONS.

5. WE SHOULD ALSO SEEK TO MAKE THE PUNISHMENT FIT THE
CRIME. IN THIS REGARD I BELIEVE WE CAN MAKE LEGITIMATE
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DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE SOVIET BLOC AND THOSE AFRICAN
NATIONS WHICH, DESPITE OUR WARNING, PERSISTED IN GIVING
FULL SUPPORT TO CUBANS. IN THE CASE OF THE SOVIET UNION,
WE MUST ALSO TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION OTHER VITAL
INTERESTS, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME MAINTAINING SOME
CREDIBILITY.

6. IN VIEW OF THE FOREGOING, I PROPOSE THAT WE INSTRUCT
OUR EMBASSIES IN THE USSR, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, BULGARIA,
MALI AND TANZANIA AS FOLLOWS:

(A) TO EXPRESS OFFICIALLY OUR SEVERE DISAPPOINTMENT
WITH THEIR OPPOSITION TO THE POSTPONEMENT OF A RESOLUTION
WHICH INVOLVED A FLAGRANT INTERFERENCE IN OUR AFFAIRS;

(B) TO SAY THAT WE REGARD THE OUTRIGHT REJECTION OF OUR URGENT DEMARCHE AS AN ACT WHICH WILL NEGATIVELY AFFECT OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS;

(C) IN ADDITION, WITH MALI AND TANZANIA, WE WOULD SAY THAT WE CONSIDER THEM TO HAVE LINED UP WITH THE COMMUNIST BLOC IN SUPPORT OF A DIRECT INFRINGEMENT ON VITAL US INTERESTS AND THAT THEY THEREBY DENY THEMSELVES ANY CLAIM TO BE NON-ALIGNED.

APPROVE INSTRUCTIONS

APPROVE AS AMENDED

OTHER

7. WE WOULD ALSO TAKE THE FOLLOWING ACTIONS WITHIN A WEEK (WITHOUT, HOWEVER, SPECIFICALLY TELLING GOVERNMENT CONCERNED THESE ARE IN RETALIATION FOR THEIR VOTE):

(A) USSR: POSTPONE THE THIRD SESSION OF THE JOINT US-USSR TRANSPORTATION COMMITTEE SCHEDULED FOR SEPTEMBER 2-5

ALTERNATIVE: CANCEL APPROVAL OF OPENING TRADE OFFICE IN NEW YORK.

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EUR RECOMMENDS AGAINST TAKING ANY ACTION AGAINST USSR. THE SOVIETS DID NOT WORK DIRECTLY OR THROUGH EE'S TO BRING PRESSURE ON KEY COUNTRIES WHOSE VOTE MIGHT HAVE CHANGED THE OUTCOME (FOR EXAMPLE INDIA AND AFGHANISTAN). ALSO, WE WOULD BE RELUCTANT TO MOVE AGAINST COOPERATIVE AGREEMENTS SIGNED AT RECENT SUMMITS WHICH ARE AN INTEGRAL PART OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP.

POSTPONE COMMITTEE SESSION

CANCEL TRADE OFFICE OPENING

OTHER

(B) CZECHOSLOVAKIA: IO AND EUR RECOMMEND CANCELLATION OF PLANNED EARLY OCTOBER VISIT OF COMMERCE SECRETARY MORTON TO PRAGUE.

ALTERNATIVE: DEFER VISIT OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARTMANN

CANCEL MORTON TRIP

POSTPONE HARTMANN TRIP

OTHER

(C) BULGARIA: IO AND EUR RECOMMEND POSTPONING APPROVAL OF BULGARIAN TRADE OFFICE IN CHICAGO OR SAN FRANCISCO.

ALTERNATIVE: DEFER OR CANCEL PENDING VISIT OF DEPUTY SECRETARY INGERSOLL.

ALTERNATIVE: DO NEITHER OF ABOVE BUT HAVE INGERSOLL SPEAK TO THE BULGARS IN THE STRONGEST LANGUAGE IN RELATION TO THEIR RECENT VOTE.

DELAY TRADE OFFICE APPROVAL

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DELAY INGERSOLL VISIT

CANCEL INGERSOLL VISIT

HAVE INGERSOLL ADMINISTER DRESSING DOWN

OTHER

(D) MALI: SUSPEND A \$12.5 MILLION LIVESTOCK AND CEREAL PROJECT TO WHICH WE HAVE JUST AGREED.

ALTERNATIVE: TERMINATE \$1.1 MILLION DROUGHT REHABILITATION PROJECT FOR SHORT TERM ASSISTANCE TO DROUGHT AREAS.

ALTERNATIVE: TELL MALI THAT ALTHOUGH MILITARY SALES ARE CURRENTLY SUSPENDED, PROGRAM IS NOW TERMINATED.

SUSPEND LIVESTOCK, CEREAL PROJECT

TERMINATE DROUGHT ASSISTANCE

TERMINATE MILITARY SALES

OTHER

(E) TANZANIA: SUSPEND INDEFINITELY NEGOTIATIONS FOR A \$12 MILLION AGRICULTURAL SECTOR LOAN PLANNED FOR THIS YEAR.

ALTERNATIVE: TELL THE GOT WE CANNOT RESPOND TO ANY PART OF THEIR REQUEST FOR 170,000 TONS OF CORN, 25,000 TONS OF RICE AND 600,000 TONS OF WHITE SORGHUM FOR A TITLE

I PL-480 PROGRAM FOR THIS YEAR. (THEY HAVE BEEN TOLD WE
WILL BE UNABLE TO HONOR ALL OF THE REQUEST.)

SUSPEND LOAN NEGOTIATIONS

DROP TITLE I CONSIDERATIONS

OTHER

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8. WE PROPOSE:

(A) TO INSTRUCT USUN TO EXPRESS TO THE REPRESENTA-
TIVES OF SYRIA AND IRAQ OUR CONCERN OVER THEIR CO-SPON-
SORSHIP OF A RESOLUTION HOSTILE TO THE UNITED STATES AND
THE OPPOSITION TO EVEN A POSTPONEMENT OF A CONSIDERATION
OF THIS ITEM;

APPROVE DISAPPROVE

(B) TO INSTRUCT USUN TO INFORM AMBASSADOR MONDJO OF
CONGO (BRAZZAVILLE) THAT HIS SPONSORSHIP OF CUBAN RESOLU-
TION AND HIS VOTE AGAINST POSTPONEMENT CONSTITUTED A
FLAGRANT INTERFERENCE IN OUR INTERNAL AFFAIRS, HAVE CAUSED
US SERIOUS CONCERN, AND WILL AFFECT THE PACE OF REESTABLISH-
MENT OF NORMAL RELATIONS.

APPROVE DISAPPROVE

9. YOU WILL NO DOUBT WISH TO CONSIDER THE CONSISTENCY OF
ACTIONS PROPOSED IN PARAS 7 AND 8 AS WELL AS THAT IN 6(B)
AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THE DEPARTMENT'S AUGUST 21 AN-
NOUNCEMENT THAT WE HAVE LIFTED THIRD COUNTRY SANCTIONS
ON CUBA SINCE CUBA WAS PRIME MOVER OF PUERTO RICAN EFFORT.
AMBASSADOR MOYNIHAN HAS ASKED THAT YOU APPROVE SOME NEGA-
TIVE ACTION TO BE TAKEN AGAINST CUBA WITHOUT DELAY. ARA
HAS NO STRONG OBJECTION AND IS PREPARED TO EXPLORE RE-
TALIATION MEASURES.

APPROVE: EXAMINE POSSIBILITY OF RETALIATORY

DISAPPROVE: NO RETALIATORY MEASURES

10. WE HAVE ALREADY INSTRUCTED POSTS IN THE ELEVEN
COUNTRIES WHICH SUPPORTED POSTPONEMENT TO EXPRESS OUR
APPRECIATION.

11. IN ADDITION, WE HAVE INSTRUCTED BELGRADE, PORT OF
SPAN, AND ADDIS ABABA TO EXPRESS OUR DISAPPOINTMENT AT
THEIR FAILURE, THROUGH ABSTENTION OR ABSENCE, TO SUPPORT
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THE POSTPONEMENT MOTION, DESPITE OUR URGENT DEMARCHES.
(YUGOSLAVS WERE PARTICULARLY DISAPPOINTING.)

12. WE HAVE ALSO INSTRUCTED PEKING NOT TO TAKE ANY PARTICULAR INITIATIVE IN WAKE CHINESE ACTION. WHILE WE ARE, IN FACT, GRATIFIED WITH ITS NON-PARTICIPATION WHICH IS BEST WE COULD HAVE EXPECTED, WE DO NOT CONSIDER IT APPROPRIATE TO THANK CHINA FOR WITHHOLDING ITS SUPPORT OF CUBA SINCE WE ARE NOT COMPLETELY CERTAIN ONLY CHINESE-US CONSIDERATIONS WERE INVOLVED AND THEY MIGHT BE EMBARRASSED TO RECEIVE ANY US EXPRESSION OF APPRECIATION.

CLEARED BY: C: SONNENFELDT; AF: MULCAHY; EUR: ARMITAGE;
NEA: SOBER; ARA:RYAN ROBINSON

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<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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